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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 ZAGREB 000803

SIPDIS

DEPARTMENT FOR EUR/SCE (NARDI)
STATE PLEASE PASS TO USAID - EE/ECA (CONVERY)

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/16/2013

TAGS: [PGOV](#) [EAID](#) [EAID](#) [EAID](#) [EAID](#) [HR](#) [HRPGOV](#)

SUBJECT: CROATIA ELECTIONS: RACAN'S SDP NEEDS TO TURN IT
AROUND

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CLASSIFIED BY: POLOFF A.F.GODFREY FOR REASONS 1.5 (B,D)

SUMMARY

1. (C) THE UNOFFICIAL STARTING GUN FOR THE NEXT PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION HAS GONE OFF, BUT PM RACAN'S COALITION-LEADING SDP IS STALLED AT THE START. A NEW USAID-SPONSORED IRI POLL SHOWS THAT ONLY 13 PERCENT OF VOTERS NOW PLAN TO CAST THEIR BALLOTS FOR THE SDP. VOTER DISSATISFACTION WITH THE GOVERNMENT IS AT 68 PERCENT, ESSENTIALLY THE SAME LEVEL IT WAS WITH THE LAST GOVERNMENT IN 1999 AFTER A DECADE OF WAR AND HDZ MISRULE HAD BROUGHT CROATIA TO ECONOMIC RUIN AND INTERNATIONAL ISOLATION. THE SDP'S FOUR SMALLER COALITION PARTNERS HAVE BEGUN TO PREPARE THEMSELVES FOR THE ELECTION, AND OPPOSITION PARTIES ALREADY HAVE THEIR CAMPAIGN BILLBOARDS OUT. THE SDP, HOWEVER, IS IN DISARRAY, AND RACAN FACES DISSENT WITHIN HIS OWN PARTY FROM BOTH THE LEFT AND THE RIGHT.

2. (C) IRI POLLSTERS SAY THAT IF THE SDP CAN TURN THINGS AROUND, A COALITION WHICH EXCLUDES THE STILL-UNRECONSTRUCTED HDZ CAN WIN IN ELECTIONS THIS AUTUMN. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND CROATIAN VOTERS ARE RIGHT TO BE DISAPPOINTED BY THE OPPORTUNITIES MISSED BY THE RACAN GOVERNMENT, BUT THERE HAVE BEEN SOME IMPORTANT POSITIVE CHANGES. FOR ALL THEIR PERSONAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL FAILINGS, THE PARTIES WHICH MAKE UP THIS GOVERNMENT ARE IN THE EUROPEAN MAINSTREAM. ON ISSUES OF MOST CONCERN TO US BUT (REGRETABLELY) NOT TO THE TYPICAL CROATIAN VOTER, THEIR PERFORMANCE IS VARIED: LITTLE PROGRESS
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OR COMMITMENT ON REFUGEE RETURNS, UNEVEN COOPERATION WITH ICTY, AND GOOD NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS HAVE BEEN BUILT. THESE LEVELS WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED UNDER AN HDZ GOVERNMENT BECAUSE ITS MANY OF ITS LEADING FIGURES AND CONSTITUENTS ARE FUNDAMENTALLY OPPOSED TO BUILDING AN OPEN, INCLUSIVE CROATIA.

3. (C) AS MUCH AS WE REGRET RACAN'S LACK OF LEADERSHIP, THERE IS AS YET NO ALTERNATIVE TO A COALITION INCLUDING THE SDP THAT DOES NOT INCLUDE THE FUNDAMENTALLY UNDEMOCRATIC HDZ. UNLESS THE SDP CAN GET BACK ON ITS FEET, SUCH A COALITION MAY NOT PREVAIL AT THE POLLS IN OCTOBER. END SUMMARY.

IRI POLL SERVES AS ELECTION STARTING GUN

4. (C) CROATIA'S NEXT PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION MUST TAKE PLACE BEFORE APRIL 2004, BUT THE COALITION HAS ALL BUT FORMALLY ANNOUNCED ELECTIONS FOR OCTOBER 2003. THE THREE LARGEST PARTIES OF THE FIVE-PARTY COALITION WHICH MAKE UP THE COALITION LED BY PM RACAN'S SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (SDP) HAVE ALL ANNOUNCED THAT THEY WILL NOT JOIN A PRE-ELECTION COALITION. A USAID-SPONSORED IRI POLL COMPLETED ON MARCH 25 SHOWS THAT THE SDP STILL LEADS THE COALITION, BUT HAS THE SUPPORT OF ONLY 13 PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAID THEY WOULD TAKE PART IN ELECTIONS, DOWN FROM 23 PERCENT IN JUNE 2001, BELOW THE OPPOSITION HDZ (22 PERCENT) AND FAR BEHIND THOSE WHO SAID THEY WOULD VOTE BUT HAVE NOT MADE UP THEIR MINDS (29 PERCENT).

VOTER DISSATISFACTION NEAR ALL-TIME HIGH

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5. (C) ONE OF THE MOST STARTLING RESULTS FROM THE IRI POLL (CONDUCTED BY PULS, CROATIA'S LEADING PUBLIC-OPINION FIRM) IS THAT ONLY 22 PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS THINK THAT CROATIA IS HEADING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION, DOWN FROM A PEAK OF 57 PERCENT AFTER THE COALITION TOOK OFFICE IN JANUARY 2000. FULLY 68 PERCENT SAID THAT CROATIA IS BEING LED IN THE WRONG DIRECTION, VERY CLOSE TO THE LEVEL OF VOTER DISSATISFACTION IN 1999, AFTER NEARLY A DECADE OF WAR AND HDZ MISRULE. THE POLL SHOWS THAT 73 PERCENT OF CROATIANS BELIEVE THAT THE SDP IS MOST RESPONSIBLE IN THE COALITION FOR GOC POLICY. THREE

TIMES AS MANY RESPONDENTS BELIEVE THE SDP IS RESPONSIBLE FOR SQUABBLES IN THE COALITION THAN THE SDP, AND 55 PERCENT EITHER THOUGHT THE GOVERNMENT HAD DONE NOTHING GOOD DURING ITS TENURE OR COULD NOT POINT TO A SINGLE POSITIVE ACCOMPLISHMENT.

IRI: COALITION "SURVIVABLE"

16. (C) NEVERTHELESS, IRI POLLSTERS SAID THE COALITION IN ITS CURRENT FORM IS "SURVIVABLE," PROVIDED THE SDP COULD GET ITS RATING UP TO 20 PERCENT. THEY LAID OUT A STRATEGY -- WHICH THEY LATER PITCHED TO ALL COALITION PARTIES -- WHERE THE

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	INR-00	LAB-01	L-00	VCE-00	AC-01	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
	OMB-02	OPIC-01	PA-00	PM-00	PRS-00	ACE-00	P-00
	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	TRSE-00	USIE-00	R-00	EPAE-00
	IIP-00	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRM-00	DRL-01	G-00	NFAT-00
	SAS-00	SWCI-00	/006W				

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P 111157Z APR 03
FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9936
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SKOPJE PRIORITY
USMISSION USOSCE PRIORITY
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GOVERNMENT SHOULD FIRST TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR NOT LIVING UP TO VOTER EXPECTATIONS AND THEN GET THE MESSAGE OUT ON THINGS THEY HAVE DONE, ESPECIALLY ON JOB CREATION AND IN BRINGING CROATIA'S TOURIST INDUSTRY BACK TO LIFE.

SDP GETS THE BAD NEWS

17. (C) WE MET WITH SDP SECRETARY GENERAL IGOR DRAGOVAN, WHO ATTENDED IRI'S PRESENTATION OF THE POLL RESULTS TO HIS PARTY.

PM RACAN (PRESIDENT OF THE SDP) WAS NOT AVAILABLE, BUT KEY SENIOR LEADERS WERE PRESENT, INCLUDING DEPUTY PM/DEFENSE MINISTER ANTUNOVIC, LABOR MINISTER VIDOVIC AND INTERIOR MINISTER LUCIN. AFTER A BRIEF GRIPE ABOUT A LEAK TO THE PRESS BY ANOTHER PARTY OF THE POLL'S UNFAVORABLE SHOWING OF THE SDP, DRAGOVAN EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO BE ABLE TO SHAPE HIS PARTY'S MESSAGE IN TIME TO GET RESULTS.

18. (C) DRAGOVAN WAS DISCOURAGED, BUT NOT SURPRISED, BY THE FACT THAT VOTERS DON'T KNOW ANY OF THE COALITION'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS. DRAGOVAN AGREED WITH IRI'S CRITICISM THAT PM RACAN'S INABILITY TO TAKE CREDIT FOR PROGRESS ON THE ECONOMY IS COMPOUNDED BY HIS UNWILLINGNESS TO DEVELOP A PROFESSIONAL COMMUNICATIONS STAFF. THE ONE POLL RESULT THAT CAUGHT HIM BY SURPRISE WAS THAT VOTERS BELIEVE THE SDP IS RESPONSIBLE FOR MOST OF THE SQUABBLES BETWEEN COALITION PARTNERS. DRAGOVAN INSISTED THAT THE CROATIAN PEASANT'S PARTY (HSS) HAS BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR ALMOST ALL OF THE CONFLICTS.

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RACAN WANTS TO RUN ON HIS RECORD

19. (C) DESPITE THE SDP'S CURRENT STANDING, DRAGOVAN IS OPTIMISTIC AND CLAIMS THE SDP HAS A PLAN TO GET OUT THE WORD. HE GAVE US A COPY OF A BOOKLET THE SDP IS ISSUING TO ALL PARTY MEMBERS TO GIVE THEM CONCRETE FACTS TO REFUTE ALLEGATIONS ABOUT THE COALITION'S INACTION. THE LIST OF

ACCOMPLISHMENTS IS IMPRESSIVE, ESPECIALLY WHEN COMPARED WITH THE PRECEDING HDZ GOVERNMENT'S FAILURE. THERE ARE "TALKING POINTS" FOR SDP RANK-AND-FILE ON ALL SUBJECT AREAS, BUT DRAGOVAN BELIEVES THE BOOKLET'S FRAMING OF THE GOC'S TRACK RECORD ON THE ECONOMY WILL BE MOST CONVINCING. STATISTICS CITED IN THE SDP'S "WHAT WE HAVE ACCOMPLISHED" BOOKLET INCLUDE:

- STEADY, IMPRESSIVE GROWTH IN GDP, FROM -0.4 PERCENT IN 1999 TO 5.2 PERCENT IN 2002;
- PER CAPITA GDP IS NOW 5,150 EURO, AHEAD OF NINE EU CANDIDATE COUNTRIES;
- INFLATION DOWN STEADILY;
- RETIREMENT OF MOST OF THE HDZ-ERA DEBT;
- 3.2 BILLION DOLLARS IN FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT;
- REDUCTION OF THE STATE BUDGET OUTLAYS;
- REDUCTION OF INTEREST RATES FOR CONSUMER CREDIT;
- IMPROVING THE PERFORMANCE OF STATE OWNED ENTERPRISES;
- INCREASING THE REAL WAGES OF THE AVERAGE WORKER; AND
- REDUCING UNEMPLOYMENT FOR THE FIRST TIME IN 20 YEARS.

110. (C) DRAGOVAN TOLD US THAT THE SDP'S WAR CHEST IS FULL
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AND THEY PLAN TO ROLL OUT ADS THIS SUMMER TAKING CREDIT FOR THEIR ACCOMPLISHMENTS. HE WAS FRUSTRATED THAT THE SDP'S SMALLER COALITION PARTNER HNS HAS BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH PROGRESS TOWARD COMPLETING THE ZAGREB-SPLIT HIGHWAY, WHICH VOTERS CITE AS ONE OF THE FEW ACHIEVEMENTS OF THIS GOVERNMENT (EVEN THOUGH THE HIGHWAY WILL NOT BE COMPLETED BEFORE ELECTIONS).

DISSENT WITHIN THE SDP

111. (C) IN ADDITION TO THE PROBLEM OF GETTING HIS MESSAGE OUT, RACAN FACES OPEN DISSENT FROM WITHIN HIS OWN PARTY'S RANKS. ON APRIL 2, SDP MP ZLATKO SESELJ QUIT THE PARLIAMENT, RETURNING HIS MANDATE TO THE SDP. SESELJ TOLD THE PRESS THAT HE IS FED UP THAT HIS PARTY HAS CONSISTENTLY BACKED DOWN IN THE FACE OF PRESSURE FROM THE HSS. THE LAST STRAW IN SESELJ'S CASE WAS THE SDP AGREEING TO APPROVE THE HSS EDUCATION MINISTER'S PROPOSED HIGH SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS WHICH, ACCORDING TO SESELJ "ARE NOT WORTH THE PAPER THEY'RE PRINTED ON." SESELJ, A CAREER EDUCATOR AND OWNER OF A PRIVATE HIGH SCHOOL IN ZAGREB, SAID THAT THE HSS TEXTBOOK "PASSED BECAUSE OF HSS PRESIDENT TOMCIC'S "BLACKMAIL."

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ACTION EUR-00

INFO	LOG-00	NP-00	AF-00	AGRE-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	INL-00
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	INR-00	LAB-01	L-00	VCE-00	AC-01	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
	OMB-02	OPIC-01	PA-00	PM-00	PRS-00	ACE-00	P-00
	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	TRSE-00	USIE-00	R-00	EPAE-00
	IIP-00	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRM-00	DRL-01	G-00	NFAT-00
	SAS-00	SWCI-00	/006W				

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P 111157Z APR 03
FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9937
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO PRIORITY
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112. (C) ZDRAVKO TOMAC, CHAIR OF THE PARLIAMENT'S FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, IS ACTIVELY SUBVERTING SOME OF HIS PARTY'S TACTICS ON ELECTIONS. DRAGOVAN TOLD US THAT RACAN HAS BEEN TRYING TO EASE TOMAC OUT THE DOOR FOR YEARS, BUT THE JOWLY, CANTANKEROUS PROFESSOR JUST WON'T GO. FORMERLY A PARTY VICE PRESIDENT, TOMAC IS NO LONGER EVEN A MEMBER OF THE SDP CENTRAL COMMITTEE. DRAGOVAN TOLD US THAT RACAN TRIED TO GET

THE MESSAGE ACROSS BY FIRING TOMAC'S SISTER FROM A COMFY SPOT AS ASSISTANT MINISTER OF VETERANS' AFFAIRS, BUT TOMAC HANGS ON, USING HIS COMMITTEE CHAIR AS A PULPIT FOR HIS OWN PET POLICY: INSISTING THAT THE DAYTON AGREEMENT BE REVISED TO CREATE A SEPARATE ENTITY FOR ETHNIC CROATS IN BIH. (NOTE: EACH TIME TOMAC MAKES SUCH AN ANNOUNCEMENT, GOC AND SDP OFFICIALS MAKE STATEMENTS DECLARING THAT TOMAC DOES NOT SPEAK FOR EITHER THE PARTY OR THE GOVERNMENT.)

113. (C) WE AND MANY IN THE MEDIA THOUGHT TOMAC HAD FINALLY CROSSED THE LINE WHEN AS A GUEST AT THE ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE MODERATE OPPOSITION PARTY DEMOCRATIC CENTER (DC), HE WAS QUOTED AS SAYING HE WOULD SUPPORT DC PRESIDENT MATE GRANIC AS A CANDIDATE FOR PRIME MINISTER. HOWEVER, RACAN'S ONLY RESPONSE WAS TO REMARK THAT "TOMAC SEEMS TO BE DISTANCING HIMSELF FROM THE SDP." DRAGOVAN TOLD US THAT RACAN SEEKS TO AVOID THE APPEARANCE OF DISSENT WITHIN THE PARTY AND DOES NOT WANT TO ALIENATE THE MORE CONSERVATIVE SDP VOTERS WHO ASSOCIATE WITH TOMAC.

ELECTION-YEAR LEGISLATION?

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114. (C) ALTHOUGH IT IS LATE IN THE LEGISLATIVE SEASON FOR NEW INITIATIVES, THE SDP IS TRYING TO GET THROUGH TWO MORE "REFORMS" WHICH THEY HOPE WILL BE POPULAR WITH VOTERS. ONE IS AN ELECTION-YEAR TAX REFORM, ANNOUNCED IN GENERAL TERMS ON APRIL 7. THE SDP PROPOSES BROAD CUTS TO INCOME TAXES AND TO OFFSET THE LOSS WITH INCREASES IN PROPERTY TAXES. THE OTHER IS REFORM OF THE LABOR CODE, BUT THE SDP EFFORT SEEMS TO HAVE RUN OUT OF STEAM. FOLLOWING A LONG STALEMATE, GOVERNMENT, EMPLOYER, AND LABOR UNION NEGOTIATORS APPEARED TO BE ON TRACK TO REACHING A COMPROMISE ON A NEW LABOR LAW. BUT ON APRIL 9, LABOR LEADERS WALKED OUT OF NEGOTIATIONS, INSISTING THAT THE GOC WAS NOT NEGOTIATING IN GOOD FAITH. ONE OBSERVER NOTED THAT THE TIMING OF THE WALKOUT IS PREDICTABLE: UNIONS JUST WANT TO GET THE BEST DEAL THEY CAN BEFORE THEIR TRADITIONAL PROTEST ON MAY 1; IF THEY HELP BRING DOWN THE SDP, THEY ARE UNLIKELY TO GET A BETTER DEAL FROM THE HDZ.

ELECTION LAW GAMBLE WOULD RELY ON AGREEMENT WITH BIH

115. (C) ON APRIL 3, THE CROATIAN PARLIAMENT PASSED TECHNICAL CHANGES TO EXISTING ELECTION LAW WHEN COALITION PARTNERS COULD NOT COME TO COMPROMISE ON A NEW ELECTORAL MODEL. THE SABOR BROUGHT THE OLD LAW INTO LINE WITH THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL LAW ON NATIONAL MINORITIES AND MADE SOME OTHER IMPORTANT TECHNICAL CHANGES, BUT DID NOT ADDRESS THE ISSUE OF DIASPORA VOTING. ALL CROATIAN CITIZENS, REGARDLESS OF WHERE THEY RESIDE, STILL HAVE A RIGHT UNDER CROATIA'S CONSTITUTION, TO VOTE IN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS. IN THE LAST ELECTION, HARD-LINE NATIONALIST CROATS FROM BOSNIA USED THIS TO ELECT SIX MP'S ON THE HDZ SLATE.

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116. (C) THE GOC IS COUNTING ON SIGNING A NEW BILATERAL AGREEMENT ON DUAL CITIZENSHIP WITH BIH WHICH WOULD PREVENT CROATS WHO VOTED IN BOSNIA FROM VOTING IN CROATIA. WHILE THE MFA INFORMS US THAT NEGOTIATIONS ARE WELL ALONG, OTHER OBSERVERS WARN US THAT THIS AGREEMENT COULD BE AT RISK IF BIH DECIDES TO PLAY HARDBALL AND LINK THE DUAL CITIZENSHIP AGREEMENT TO PROGRESS ON OTHER ISSUES. ONE SUCH ISSUE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO BIH IS THE LONG-PENDING AGREEMENT ON THE STATUS OF THE PORT OF PLOCE. BIH IS TO GAIN SPECIAL ACCESS TO THE PORT IN EXCHANGE FOR FREE PASSAGE FOR TRAVELLERS THROUGH THE NEUM CORRIDOR (A STRETCH OF THE ADRIATIC COAST, PART OF BIH, WHICH SEPARATES CROATIA'S MAINLAND FROM THE DUBROVNIK REGION). THE PARLIAMENT'S FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE -- AT THE URGING OF NONE OTHER THAN ZDRAVKO TOMAC -- IS OPPOSING A GOC COMPROMISE ON AN AGREEMENT WITH BIH REGARDING THE STATUS OF THE PORT OF PLOCE.

COMMENT

117. (C) WE WON'T TRY TO PREDICT THE OUTCOME OF ELECTIONS SO FAR IN ADVANCE, BUT SIMPLE ARITHMETIC ALLOWS US TO MAKE TWO PREDICTIONS CONFIDENTLY: NO SINGLE PARTY WILL BE ABLE TO FORM

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	INR-00	LAB-01	L-00	VCE-00	AC-01	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
	OMB-02	OPIC-01	PA-00	PM-00	PRS-00	ACE-00	P-00

SCT-00 SP-00 SSO-00 TRSE-00 USIE-00 R-00 EPAE-00
IIP-00 PMB-00 DSCC-00 PRM-00 DRL-01 G-00 NFAT-00
SAS-00 SWCI-00 /006W

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P 111157Z APR 03

FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9938

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY SKOPJE PRIORITY

USMISSION USOSCE PRIORITY

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A GOVERNMENT ON ITS OWN AND NO COALITION WHICH DOES NOT
INCLUDE EITHER THE HDZ OR THE SDP WILL BE ABLE TO GAIN MORE
THAN 50 PERCENT OF THE MP'S IN THE NEXT PARLIAMENT.

118. (C) LIKE THE RESPONDENTS TO THE IRI POLL, WE HAVE BEEN
DISAPPOINTED BY THE RACAN GOVERNMENT'S MISSED OPPORTUNITIES
AND BY HIS INDECISIVE LEADERSHIP STYLE, BUT AN HDZ GOVERNMENT
WOULD BE WORSE. DESPITE ITS NEW FACADE, AND WHILE IT MIGHT
MAKE THE TRAINS RUN ON TIME, THE HDZ REMAINS THE PARTY OF
EXCLUSIONARY ETHNIC NATIONALISTS. THEY WOULD OBSTRUCT THE
PROCESS OF ADDRESSING THE LEGACY OF ETHNIC WAR. AT SOME
POINT IN THE FUTURE -- BUT CERTAINLY NOT IN TIME FOR THIS
FALL'S ELECTIONS -- THE HDZ MAY CHANGE ENOUGH AT THE
FUNDAMENTAL LEVEL TO BE A USEFUL PARTNER FOR THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. AFTER ALL, FEW WHO SAW GEORGE
WALLACE IN 1963 COULD HAVE PREDICTED HE WOULD RENOUNCE HIS
SEGREGATIONIST VIEWS AND FIND SUPPORT 20 YEARS LATER AMONG
MORE PROGRESSIVE VOTERS. FOR NOW, THE PARTIES WHICH MAKE UP
THE CURRENT COALITION ARE MORE LIKELY TO MOVE FORWARD ON
POLICIES WHICH ADVANCE OUR GOALS FOR REGIONAL STABILITY, EVEN
IF THEY DO SO ONLY WHEN PRESSURED AND EVEN THEN ONLY
GRUDGINGLY.

119. (C) OUR USAID DEMOCRACY ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS HAVE BEEN
RAMPED UP IN THIS ELECTION YEAR TO HELP THE SDP AND ALL OTHER
REFORM-ORIENTED POLITICAL PARTIES IN CROATIA. IN ADDITION TO
PROFESSIONAL POLLING INFORMATION, WE ARE TRAINING PARTY
LEADERS AT ALL LEVELS, ORGANIZING FOCUS GROUPS, AND HELPING
PARTIES DEFINE HOW BEST TO TAILOR THEIR MESSAGES TO ACHIEVE
VOTER RESPONSE.

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